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SOURCE Hsin-wen T'ien-ti (Newsdom), No 204, 1952.

NATIONALIST PERIODICAL DISCUSSES RELATIONS
OF CHINESE COMMUNISTS AND SOVIETS, ALSO
MISSION TO MOSCOW OF LIU CHAO-CH'Y

According to an article by Kuan Hsueh-ming (關學銘), entitled "Liu Shao-ch'1 Goes to Moscow" which appeared in the T'ai-pei weekly periodical Hsin-wen T'ien-ti, 15 January 1952, Liu went to Moscow as the personal representative of Mao Tse-tung. Allegedly, he went to seek Soviet approval of Chinese Communist hegemony over the Far Eastern Communist bloc, to report on the First Plenary Session of the Far East Cominform, and to ask for aid in technicians and materiel in building up a joint naval and air force. He is said to have been charged with the tasks of presenting Mao to the Kremlin in a more favorable light and of bridling Ambassador Chang Wen-t'ien's (張聞天) schismatic, anti-Mao allegations. The article also lists the members attending the First Plenary Session.

In an attempt to verify the information in Kuan's article, issues of the official Chinese Communist organ, the Peiping Jen-min Jih-pao, for December 1951 and January 1952 were examined. (The following issues were not available: 14 December 1951, and 2, 3, 9, 27, and 28 January 1952.) No mention was found of visits of any Chinese Communist personalities or special delegations to Moscow during the period covered.

However, an item in the 25 January 1952 Jen-min Jih-pao, datelined Hsin-hua She, 24 January, stated that according to a Tass News Agency Moscow release, on 21 January, the 28th anniversary of Lenin's death, in addition to the foreign representatives of nine nations (the People's Republic of China was not listed) who paid homage at Lenin's tomb, a representative of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party laid a wreath at the tomb. This item does not name or give additional information regarding the CCP representative who was present at the ceremony.

The article from the Hsin-wen T'ien-ti follows:

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LIU SHAO-CH'I GOES TO MOSCOW

Kuan Hsueh-ming

The report in international circles that Mao Tse-tung and Stalin are or soon will be meeting is known by very few persons in Peiping. Residents of Peiping, long before the report was circulating, believed that Mao would go to Moscow to congratulate Stalin on his birthday. That was in November 1951, at which time Communist authorities neither denied nor suppressed the rumors. But on the morning of 29 November 1951, two transport planes left the Nan-yuan Field, and flew toward the northwest. Many supposed that Mao Tse-tung had left for Moscow.

The big transport planes, loaded with top-level Communists, did go to Moscow via Urumchi, but Mao Tse-tung was not among them. Among the departees headed by Liu Shao-ch'i were the following important Chinese and Russians:

Ch'en Yun (陳雲), Vice-Chairman, Government Administration Council

Lin Piao (林彪), recently Vice-Chairman, People's Revolutionary Military Council

Tsou Ta-p'eng (鄒大鵬), deputy director, Social Affairs Department

Liao Ch'eng-chih (廖承志), secretary, Politburo, Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and deputy director, Organization Department

Hsiao Ching-kuang (蕭勁光), chief, Naval High Command

Chung Ch'ih-ping (鍾赤兵), deputy chief, Air Force

Turchevskiy* [an asterisk following a name indicates an approximation from the Chinese language of a foreign name], deputy secretary, Far East Cominform

Gyalikhan*, Organization Chief, Far East Cominform

Kosaiv*, Military Attache, Soviet Embassy

Kalov*, Representative, Soviet International Trade Bureau

In addition, Seyfudin (賽福鼎), vice-chairman of the Sinkiang People's Government, joined the group at Urumchi.

Important and Complex Task

On this trip, Liu Shao-ch'i was charged with a delicate mission, which included the following responsibilities:

1. Represent Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese people in offering congratulations to Stalin on his birthday (celebrated on 21 December).
2. Represent Mao Tse-tung in explaining matters to the Kremlin and clarifying Mao's orientation.
3. Ask and obtain the Kremlin's consent for the Chinese Communist Party to be the center of gravity of the Far Eastern Communist bloc.

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4. Report the proceedings of the First Plenary Session of the Far East Cominform, and to take part in an international Communist conference.

5. Ask the USSR for "materials to set the army in order."

6. Ask the Soviet Union to help the Chinese Communists quickly build a strong navy and air force.

Mao Tse-tung, himself, should have gone on this trip to the USSR for an audience with Stalin, especially for the second reason mentioned above. However, after conferences with his intimates, Mao decided not to go but to send the Number Two Man, Liu Shao-ch'i. Liu is a leader of the new international faction, and can speak appropriately and to better effect than Mao. When this decision was approved by Soviet Ambassador Roschin, Liu prepared for the trip.

Priceless Birthday Presents

Gifts collected for Stalin on his birthday included 16 large cases of "native goods," and six large chests of "antiques and treasures."

The "native goods" included famous embroideries, gems from Sinkiang, valuable furs, famous delicacies, and teas. Among the gems from Sinkiang was a carved bust of Stalin, and among the furs were five fine lion skins, costing more than 300 million yuan each.

In March 1951, three noted archeologists came from the Soviet Union to Peiping. After surveying exhibits in the ancient palaces, they asked the Chinese Communists to send relics of the Shang, Chou, Han, and other dynasties to Moscow, for study by "scholars." The Chinese Communists delayed sending the treasures, but now these priceless items have gone with Liu Shao-ch'i as gifts.

Resolutions of Plenary Session

Liu Shao-ch'i also carried a voluminous report in Russian, which contained the resolutions of the First Plenary Session of the Far East Cominform.

This Plenary Session was held in Peiping on 3 November 1951, and lasted 7 days. According to the Hsueh-hsi (Study Weekly) issued on 20 November, the membership of the assembly included:

Chinese Communists: Liu Shao-ch'i, Li Wei-han (李維漢), Liu Ning-i (劉寧一), P'eng Chen (彭真), Liao Ch'eng-chih (廖承志), Ch'en Po-ta (陳伯達), Ch'i Yen-ming (齊燕銘), Tsou Ta-p'eng (鄒大鵬), and Hsiao Hua (蕭華)

Japanese Communists: Kurahara Koreto, Okada Isoichi, Nozaka Sanzo, and Hakamada Satomi

Korean Communists: Ho Ka-ui, Pak Chong-ae (female), Pak-Sang-sin, Kim Puk, and Cho Kyong-tuk

Mongolian Communists: Ulniyuta*, Abumudu*, Dolong-mamaiba*, and Okmechingo*

Viet Nam Communists: Truong Chinh, Hoang Van Hoan, and Ho Duc Minh

Indian Communists: Toli Naukar Jha* and Amita*

Malayan Communists: Liu Te-hai (劉德海)

Philippine Communists: Loma (or Lonia)*

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Burmese Communists: Thakin La Seng* and U Tan Soe*

Indonesian Communists: Mangsekaymo, and Marsinlo*

USSR Communists: Turchevskiy*, Gyalikhan*, Doroveyev*, Subuchianov*, Boyanova*, Yesiashinov*, Buknischenko*, Chekov*, and Kanovich*

The presidium consisted of Liu Shao-ch'i, Truong Chinh, Toli Naukar Tha*, Turchevskiy*, Kutenrigen*, Ho Ka-ui, and Ulniyatu, each of whom headed one of the seven sections. The opening and closing ceremonies were held in the conference chamber of the Politburo headquarters in the Yuan-ming Temple. Discussions and section gatherings were held in the Hsiang-shan Restaurant. Kuznetsov, Cominform Second Secretary, attended and directed this meeting. Mao Tse-tung, in the opening address, assumed leadership in the Far East Cominform demanding "great unity among Far Eastern Communists."

The most important resolutions adopted were:

1. Approve the documents of the Cominform criticizing the Japanese Communists and directing their future party line.
2. Unite all Far Eastern peoples and progressive parties to form a United Front.
3. Appeal to the proletariat of all Far Eastern countries to help and firmly support Korea and Viet Nam, and to respond to the Korean and Vietnamese wars with their own activity.
4. Organize a Far East People's Revolutionary Military Committee to plan jointly strategy and supply for the "people's armed forces."
5. Strengthen working class organization in every Far Eastern country and to become the spearhead of widespread militant movements.
6. Establish a system for exchange of intelligence.
7. Propose to the Cominform enlargement of the sphere of the Far East Cominform into the Asian and Australasian Cominform; and Coordinate workers' movements in the two regions.

Organization and political measures were also passed together with a motion for setting up branch offices throughout the Far East.

Mao Tse-tung's Position Shaken

Liu Shao-ch'i is secretary general of the Far East Cominform, but the chief reason for the Moscow visit is not related to his official duties. The Kremlin, working through the Cominform, has gradually whittled down the position of the Chinese Communists as "leader" of the Far East. The reasons are complex.

First, the Kremlin has gradually become dissatisfied with the system of thought in Mao Tse-tung's New Democracy, and is concerned about his Titoist leanings. At first the New Democracy was merely a "tool" of the Communist revolution. Now, after the Communists have been in power for 2 years, this set of theories has not been withdrawn. On the contrary, it was passed on to other countries of the Far East. While the Chinese Communists believe that this set of theories fits the special conditions obtaining in the Far East, nevertheless the Kremlin remains uneasy. In June 1951, the deputy chief of the Communist

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International Liaison Department, Koshyanov*, was sent to Peiping, where he talked with Mao Tse-tung and other Communist chiefs for more than a month, made an "ideological investigation" of them, and then sent a detailed report to the Kremlin which was not very favorable to Mao.

Following this, the activities of Yebantsanden* and others in Moscow won new respect from the Kremlin for the Japanese Communists. In the fall of 1951, the "Japanese People's Liberation Army" was reconditioned by the Soviet Union with equipment and training similar to that of the Soviet Army. Political commissioners who had been furnished by China, the USSR, and North Korea were at this time all withdrawn and replaced by Japanese Communists. Vacancies now will be filled by the USSR from Japanese serving the Chinese Communists. The Kremlin is using Japanese Communists instead of Chinese Communists.

Still more discomfiting to Mao is the fact that the former international faction of Ch'en Shao-yu (陳紹禹), Chang Wen-t'ien, etc., have, with Soviet support, become active again. Chang Wen-t'ien was, at Soviet request, designated ambassador to the USSR, and in Moscow has been shooting treacherous arrows at Mao, with considerable effect on the Kremlin's attitude. While in Peiping, Koshyanov* had several long conversations with Ch'en Shao-yu and took the latter with him to Moscow. When Ch'en returned to Peiping, the Kremlin announced that Ch'en, along with Mao and Liu, would represent the Chinese Communists in the Far East Cominform.

Mao Tse-tung's position is therefore somewhat shaken. Liu Shao-ch'i went to Moscow to use his position as head of the new international faction, to explain everything for Mao to the Kremlin, and to attempt to win over Chang Wen-t'ien.

Planning Joint Navy and Air Force

Besides the above, Liu Shao-ch'i is also charged with certain military tasks, namely, to obtain Soviet help for the construction of a powerful navy and air force. In Chinese Communist strategy, this plan appears as a "Joint Sino-Soviet Navy and Air Force. In other words, the Chinese Reds hope to borrow the Soviet Union's naval and air power to prepare for a future attack on Taiwan and to move troops into Southeast Asia.

The chief points in the Chinese Communist plan to be set forth by Liu Shao-ch'i to the Soviet Union, are: the USSR is to transfer a certain number of airplanes, naval craft, and technicians to unite with present Chinese Communist forces to form a Joint Navy and Air Force to be stationed on the mainland and in coastal areas and to use Chinese Communist naval and air force bases. Labor and funds will be partly provided by the Chinese Communists as needed. The Sino-Soviet joint oil industry on the Chinese mainland shall have its profits consigned to the above-named joint forces. The Chinese Communists plan to make an agreement with the Soviet Union effective for 5 years, so that technical men appointed by the Soviets for this navy and air force may in these 5 years finish training Chinese Communist technicians. The above-mentioned joint forces will eventually come under the Chinese while the Soviet Union will receive a share in the oil profits as redemption money.

Liu Shao-ch'i arrived in Moscow early in December. On the 21st, he presented birthday greetings. It is now the end of December and there is still no word of his return to Peiping.

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